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241 511 668 hungry for land, resentful of degrading dependency and inclined to be hostile to the existing authorities, many peasants were ready to follow the leadership of professional conspirators and demagogues who incited them to revolt and promised them "land and freedom." Such feelings and attitudes were of decisive importance in the revolutionary days of 1917, as well as later in the civil war.

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ASCENDENCY OF BOLSHEVISM

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178 464 WHEN the Czardom in the eighteenth century embarked on its policy of industrialization, the newly built industries, both those state owned and those owned by the landed nobility, were based on serf labor. Also the non-noble entrepreneurs purchased or rented serfs to work in their mines and factories.[1] In such conditions the technical equipment and the production output of Russia's industries remained at a very low level. There was no incentive to introduce technological improvements as long as the labor was abundant, and its cost low. Only a few industries, such as the cotton industry which was in the hands of non-noble owners, and which from its start was based on free labor, had introduced modern machinery. [652] Thus since the Russian industries did not advance technologically and were unable to compete with the European industrial products, they had to be protected by high tariff barriers, by 434 grants and subsidies. This situation kept the level of prices of manufactured goods high in comparison with the buying power of the industrial workers, of peasants and of middle urban strata. 178 458 The resulting lack of buying power of these broad strata of the population made the progress of industrialization in Russia very slow, uneven, unstable, and chronically affected by crises

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his desk in the same way as the peasant has been bound to the land.[13]

The Party hierarchy has also passed a decree which enables the Party to keep the youth under its complete control. The decree orders mobilization of hundreds of thousand of Soviet youths to be trained annually as labor reserve. All those who go through such a training are "considered mobilized and under obligation to work four successive years in state enterprises in accordance with the directive of the general officer of Labor Reserves . . ."[14] Along the same lines of labor mobilization and economic regimentation a decree was passed according to which every skilled laborer, technician, engineer, and factory employee could be ordered moved from one factory to another in any location in the Soviet Union according to the needs of industrialization.[15]

In accordance with the need for total control of the working classes and of economic production the management of the factories was completely removed from the control or influence of the workers and centralized in the hands of the factory directors (*edinonachalie*). These became responsible for failure in output, for waste and for low quality of products. In such an industrial system the trade unions have become instruments of regimentation and speed-up. They ceased to be an institution for the protection of the rights and interests of the working class and instead evolved into an organization of overseers and labor drivers. The trade unions' Charter of 1949 expressly states this function:

> Mobilization of all factory workers and employees for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the production plan, for the strengthening of labor discipline, and for the development of socialist competition.
>
> Elaboration of practical measures for the stepping up of labor productivity, improvement of the quality of production, reduction of production costs, and raising of profitableness of the enterprise.[16]

In the same manner, one of the May Day slogans of 1952 reads: "Soviet trade unions! Develop socialist competition more widely for pre-schedule fulfillment of the state plan by every enterprise."

It was because of this need to regiment labor and make it com-

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and harder and to produce more for Socialist Motherland. Not infrequently the brigade leaders have to use physical force to make him get up early enough to work on collective property.

Yet in spite of such unfavorable circumstances, compared to city workers, the peasant might still be in a somewhat better position in regard to security and stability, attachment to his family, to his cottage, to his small plot of land, and to his village. For this reason he has been able to put up resistance against the Party and the government.[33] It is against these scanty remnants of emotional and economic security, of personal independence, of group solidarity and resistance that the Bolshevik rulers are campaigning; it is to eradicate this psychology of group intimacy and opposition that the Party had recently attempted to resettle the farmers and move them into concentrated and urbanized surroundings; the Bolsheviks are exerting all efforts to eradicate these "residues of kulak psychology" root and branch and to make the peasants as completely helpless, insecure and subdued to the Party will as they have done with the industrial and intellectual workers.

There is a considerable disproportion in sex ratio in Soviet rural areas. Owing to great casualties in wars it is estimated that at present there are about fifteen million more women than men in the Soviet Union. And due to the increasing need of manpower to maintain huge military forces and to feed the inefficient city industries, the Soviet leaders are constantly draining both male youths and adult men from the villages in the form of military and labor drafts. They are therefore increasingly relying for agricultural work on peasant women. Hence peasant villages and peasant families tend to be composed predominantly of women.

Here too a family structure with semi-matriarchal traits, similar to the Old-Slavonic family, is being formed. Though in such circumstances the number of illegitimate children is increasing, it is quite possible that the women, especially those who are traditionally strongly attached to their family, are exerting a moderating and softening influence on the personality of the peasant child. An indication of such possible differences in the psychological atmosphere of the city and the country is given in